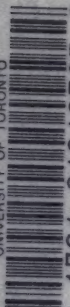


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# PIONEERS PROGRESS



## EMPIRE BUILDERS

### FRANCIS DRAKE

WALTER J. HARTE

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# SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

AT THE AGE OF 43

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY HONDIUS (?)

*Frontispiece*

*Sir Francis Drake*

D7615

# PIONEERS OF PROGRESS

## EMPIRE BUILDERS

EDITED BY A. P. NEWTON, M.A., D.LITT., B.Sc., AND  
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# SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

BY

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161931.  
WITH A PORTRAIT 17.5.21.

LONDON:  
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING  
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE  
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1920



ABERDEEN: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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THIS little book does not pretend to provide any new matter for the story of Drake's life. All that it attempts is to provide as clear a narrative as possible, and to offer an unbiassed presentation of his character, and a reasonable estimate of his position as one of the Pioneers of the British Empire.

My thanks are due to Mr. H. W. Hodges of the R.N.C., Dartmouth, for his suggestions and criticisms on Chapters VI.-VII.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE SITUATION ABROAD AND AT HOME.

DRAKE'S life was passed in one of the most stormy periods of English history. He was under twenty years of age when Elizabeth came to a throne which she did not seem likely to retain, for, as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, she was looked upon as a bastard by all true Catholics, and they maintained the right of her cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots. The danger to England came at first from France, where Mary married the Dauphin, and became Queen of France on her husband's accession in July, 1559. It then seemed likely that England would fall to the French monarchy. But the new king died in December, 1560, and the danger from France passed with the return of Mary to Scotland the following year. And Mary soon alienated her Scottish subjects, and fled to England in 1568. Her arrival caused considerable embarrassment to the English Government, who eventually determined to keep her in England, and there she remained for nineteen years, the centre of Catholic plots against Elizabeth.

Whilst Mary was in France Philip of Spain had felt constrained to support Elizabeth, but on the return of the Scottish Queen to her native land the danger of the junction of France, England, and Scotland came to an end, and he was able to assist Mary. But Philip preferred to work against Elizabeth by diplomacy and plots, for his troops were employed in trying to stamp out the rebellion of his subjects in the Netherlands. This effort proved

much more difficult than had been expected, and from 1572 until after the end of our period the revolt in the Netherlands was an important factor in the European situation. The constant plotting of the Catholics in England and on the Continent to free Mary and put her on the throne ended with the execution of the Scottish Queen in 1587, and by that time Philip had made up his mind to crush England. The reason for this policy is not hard to seek, for, with the death of Mary, there was no fear that Philip's assistance would place on the English throne one who would give her support to his rival, France. Yet it is not likely that the removal of Mary was alone sufficient to rouse Philip to undertake a crusade against the heretic Queen of England. There was another cause much more pressing which drove him unwillingly into action. From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign English merchants had endeavoured to carry on a trade with the Spanish possessions in America, insisting that they had a right to do so under the terms of commercial treaties made between England and Philip's ancestors. But Philip refused to admit that Spanish America came within the scope of those treaties. He seized all ships which ventured to try to break the embargo, and made use of the Inquisition to punish all English sailors, whom he looked upon not only as smugglers but as dangerous heretics. So there was perpetual warfare on the Spanish Main, the English merchants pushing their trade by force of arms, and Philip's men resisting the attempt. But such a state of affairs was not in those days considered a sufficient reason for open war, because no State could sufficiently control its subjects at sea, and the right of reprisal was a well recognised means of obtaining redress from foreigners. However, in course of time the English merchants grew bolder and bolder, and looked on the plunder of the Spanish Main as a fitting answer to the Spanish intrigues against their queen, and a lucrative occupation as well. Now, unless Philip was

willing to acquiesce in the loss of his Spanish treasure, it was necessary for him to make an attack upon England itself, and so he determined to take a great force of soldiers to England by sea. This great Armada completely failed to achieve its object, and, though Philip made further efforts to crush England, he merely succeeded in bringing about the ruin of his own country, and died in 1598, leaving Spain in the position of a third-class power.

Elizabeth was as unwilling as her rival, Philip, to bring matters to extremities. At the beginning of her reign her position was insecure, and her policy was to take no definite action until she was actually forced to do so. This did not prevent her from encouraging her merchants in their enterprises; in fact, she often took shares in the more important ventures, though, in her capacity as queen, she disavowed them and denied that they were intended as attacks on a brother sovereign, declaring that any damage committed was done in the right of private reprisal for injuries received from the Spanish. She also secretly supported the Netherlanders if she could not induce any one else to do so, whilst, as a rule, she found it easy to keep on good terms with France, as that country was torn with religious wars from 1562-98, and was alarmed at the growing power of the Spanish monarchy.

The internal state of England during the early years of her reign gave no indication of the success which was to come later on. The two previous rulers had left a legacy of debt, despair, and misery. The rapacity of the Reformers during the rule of the Duke of Northumberland filled people with disgust, whilst the atrocities committed by Mary in the name of religion were equally hateful. So it was by no means easy to decide what course to take, although to acknowledge the Papal supremacy was no longer possible. But the Queen's decision to take a "middle course between Rome and

Geneva" was not likely to attract any except the lukewarm, and it was only gradually that the Elizabethan Church endeared itself to the majority of the nation as the outward and visible sign of an England free from all external authority. It was this that especially appealed to the sailors in their conflict with the Spanish Catholics, and the Elizabethan seamen were among the most sturdy supporters of English "Protestantism".

## CHAPTER II.

1540-1572.

THE early years of Drake's life are wrapped in obscurity. His father was almost certainly Edmund Drake, and Francis was probably born about the year 1540 at Crowndale in the parish of Tavistock, on an estate belonging to Lord Russell. There is no doubt that the family left Devon and made their home in Kent, probably at Gillingham Reach, just below Chatham.

Camden says that Drake told him that he was of "mean" (i.e. middle) parentage, that his father became a Protestant, and as a result of the Six Articles Act of 1539 fled to Kent, and later became vicar of Upnor. This statement does not appear to be entirely correct. In the first place it does not seem probable that in 1539 a Protestant would have fled to the London district where persecution was hottest, away from the county where the "protestant" family of Russell had great influence.

It seems much more likely that his flight was the result of the "Prayer Book Rebellion" of 1549, when all Devon and Cornwall rose against the new religion.

Secondly, the name Upnor seems to be a slip for Upchurch, where an Edmund Drake was vicar from 1560-67.

As to the "mean" parentage, the name of Drake was a common one in Devon, and in East Devon the Drakes of Ashe were a distinguished family, and they bore the Wyvern on their coat of arms, as did Sir Francis after

1581. But his association with the Wyvern does not involve the assumption that he had any close connexion with this family. The note added to the grant of arms in 1581, stating that Drake had a right by just descent and prerogative of birth to bear the arms of his name and family, may have been due to the herald's ignorance of the facts of the case; and when Sir Francis became famous, the Drakes of Ashe would be proud to admit his claim to be a connexion.

It is probable that Edmund Drake had, while in Devon, become a convert to the new opinions favoured by Lord Russell, for the latter's eldest son stood godfather to Francis, and gave the baby his own name.

In Kent, then, Francis grew up, the eldest of twelve sons, and he was doubtless brought up amongst "Protestants," knowing the Bible well, and hating the Spaniards, of whose brutalities in the Netherlands he would hear, and the Papists, who in the days of Queen Mary had persecuted his co-religionist friends in England. However, we must not imagine that the Spaniards would have been allowed to monopolise the new world if there had been no religious differences at work. France and Spain had been fierce rivals in Europe since 1520, and the struggle between them continued with brief intervals for forty years, until the energies of the French Government were diverted to the suppression of heresy among its own subjects. During the long struggle between these two great Catholic powers, the French paid no regard to the partition of the New World between Spain and Portugal which had been made by the Pope in 1493, and French cruisers plundered the Spanish settlements in America, whilst the harbours of Normandy and Brittany were full of Spanish ships which had fallen into the hands of French privateers.

In the past the English had been the enemies of France and the friends of Spain; but stories of the wealth of the New World, of the defenceless condition of the

American ports, and of the incompetence of the Spanish commanders, proved too great a temptation to allow the old friendship to count. So in England the desire to get rich quickly went hand in hand with the hatred felt for the men of the Inquisition; and it would be interesting to speculate as to what the theological opinions of English seamen would have been, if Spain had been willing to tolerate Protestantism whilst she continued her policy of monopoly in the American trade. Still, for the English people, the struggle got to be looked upon as a new crusade for the Reformation, and this feeling added strength to the desire of the merchants to break down the Spanish monopoly.

Drake was apprenticed to the master of a bark trading between Zeeland, France, and England, and the owner bequeathed the vessel to him after his death. He then engaged in one or two voyages to Guinea and the Spanish Main, and came to realise what the Spanish policy meant.

John Hawkins was the first to break this monopoly. He learnt whilst trading with the Canaries that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that they could be easily obtained on the coast of Guinea. Now Hawkins was a sober trader, and he had no scruples concerning slave trading, against which he found nothing in the Bible.

He also considered that he had acted within his rights, for treaties made in 1496 and 1499 granted free intercourse to the English in all lands and ports of the Archduke of Austria, his heirs and successors; and Philip II. of Spain was the Archduke's grandson. But the Spaniards, though they allowed the English to trade with their European possessions, refused to acknowledge that the treaties applied to the New World, and had no intention of allowing Hawkins to take slaves there: and it is difficult to believe that Hawkins could have imagined that the treaties with the Archduke justified him in

evading restrictions which were imposed upon even the Spanish slave traders by their own Government.

In 1562 and in 1564, Hawkins collected negroes on the coast of Guinea and sold them to eager Spanish purchasers in the New World.

In the meanwhile Drake had sold his ship and had made some voyages to Spain, Guinea and the Spanish Main, as the district between the Orinoco and the Isthmus of Darien was called.

Hawkins' third expedition was secretly fitted out in May, 1567, and started in the following October. Francis Drake, who was his cousin, accompanied him in charge of a small ship of 50 tons called the "Judith". Hawkins was in an old ship lent by the Queen, the "Jesus of Lubeck," and there were three other vessels, whilst he added to their number by seizing some Portuguese ships on the way.

But things went badly after this. It was only after considerable trouble that between 400 and 500 slaves were obtained, and the journey across the Atlantic took fifty-five days; whilst it was found to be more difficult than ever to dispose of his cargo, for "the king had straitly commanded all his governors by no means to suffer any trade to be made with us". So Hawkins employed force. At Rio de la Hacha he captured the town, and proceeded to sell about 200 negroes. After this "violent vindication of the legitimate aspirations of English commerce," the return journey was begun in the month of August. But ill-luck continued to dog his course. After passing through the Yucatan Channel, he met with a fierce hurricane, which lasted four days, and did so much damage to the "Jesus," that it was necessary, so Hawkins affirmed, to make for a harbour and get her repaired. For a fortnight Hawkins worked round the coast of Florida seeking in vain for shelter, and then he made for San Juan de Ulloa, the harbour of the Spanish town of Vera Cruz. The governor was

very much alarmed at the arrival of Hawkins, for the Spanish treasure ships were there awaiting the arrival of a Spanish escort. Hawkins promised not to attack the treasure if he were allowed to repair his ships, a promise he readily gave, as he was always careful to discriminate between compulsory trade and piracy. He was then permitted to enter the harbour and to mount some guns on shore to protect his ships and guard the entrance against any attack. Next morning (17 September) thirteen Spanish ships appeared. Hawkins went out to explain the situation to the Admiral, and, after negotiations, which lasted three days, an agreement was reached. Hawkins allowed the Spanish ships to enter their own port, and in return the English were permitted to repair and revictual their vessels. So the two fleets then lay close to one another in the harbour. But the next day Hawkins' ships were attacked, and the men ashore were overpowered and killed. After a sharp fight, in which the Spaniards employed two fire-ships, Hawkins, in the "Minion," and Drake, in the "Judith," managed to escape. But the rest of the ships and all the profits of the voyage, said to be worth £100,000, remained in the enemy's hands; and the fugitives got safe away only because the Spanish ships had been too much damaged in the fight to be able to pursue.

It was not until the following January (1569) that Drake got back to Plymouth in the "Judith," crowded with men who were suffering much from shortage of food. Hawkins did not arrive till five days later. He, too, had suffered severely, and had been compelled to put a hundred men ashore in the Bay of Mexico, whilst he lost many more from hunger and disease on the way home.

The two ships had been parted in a gale outside San Juan, and Drake, without wasting time in looking for his partner, had pressed for home. He was much blamed

for this, and accused of deserting his leader; yet it is difficult to see what else he could have done in the circumstances in which he found himself—with an overloaded ship and starving men.

Before Drake's arrival, reports had reached England that all the members of the expedition had been caught and massacred by the Spaniards. At that time there were Genoese ships sheltering in English harbours from the French Huguenot privateers in the Channel. These ships were carrying treasure which had been borrowed by Philip to pay the Spanish troops in the Netherlands. The English Council determined to seize this money on the plea that it still belonged to the Genoese, from whom the Queen proposed to borrow it. But, in fact, it was meant as a reprisal, and it was recognised as such by the Spaniards, who retaliated by seizing all the English property they could lay hands on in the Netherlands. But here Spain put herself technically in the wrong, as it had been agreed that there should be no reprisals till justice had been refused. So the Queen, in her turn, retaliated, seizing all Spanish ships, property, sailors and merchants in England, and putting the Spanish Ambassador under arrest in his own house. Then Drake arrived, and went up to London at once, where an Inquiry was opened by the Lord Admiral: and soon after news was brought home that Drake's cousin, Barret, who had sailed with him, had been burned at the stake by orders of the Inquisition, and that many of his companions had been tortured into recanting their faith by the same authority.

Such was the result of Drake's first serious venture in breaking the Spanish monopoly in the New World, and he came back vowing vengeance against the Spaniards for their treachery and cruelty, and determined to make good the losses he and his friends had suffered at their hands.

To those unacquainted with the attitude of mind of the

sixteenth century, it is difficult to understand how these "unfriendly" actions of Spaniards and Englishmen towards one another could be supported by the reprisals of their respective Governments without involving them in actual warfare. But a correct diplomatic attitude with regard to what went on in the New World had not yet been reached, the control of Governments over their subjects at sea was very ineffective, and so it was thirty years before open war broke out between the two powers.

Our information about Drake's doings for some time after this disastrous expedition is very slight. He was engaged possibly on one of the Queen's ships conveying merchantmen to Hamburg and La Rochelle; and in 1570 and 1571 he made voyages to the West Indies of which we know very little. Certainly he would have collected much valuable information about the position of affairs in that area, and the Spaniards said that he seized much booty. This statement is probably correct, because he was able to fit out his expedition the next year (1572) with every requisite. We may say then that the era of what we should now call piracy, but what the Elizabethans called reprisals, was begun by the English in the year 1570, though it had been started by the French at a much earlier date. Drake also found time to woo Mary Newman, the daughter of a yeoman of St. Budeaux, near Plymouth, whom he married in July, 1569; and in 1570 he was made a freeman of the borough of Plymouth.

## CHAPTER III.

### NOMBRE DE DIOS.

DURING the years 1570 and 1571 the relations between Spain and England were very much strained. The Ridolfi plot against Elizabeth was being matured, but the English Government knew all about it, and in January, 1572, they ordered Don Guerau, the Spanish Ambassador, to leave England.

By the month of May, Drake had completed his elaborate arrangements for another expedition. He sailed from Plymouth on the 24th of that month with two small vessels, the "Pasha" of 70 tons and the "Swan" of 25 tons, and three "dainty pinnaces" in pieces stowed aboard ready to be put together as soon as was necessary. The "Swan" was in charge of Drake's brother, John. The expedition numbered seventy-three men and boys, all carefully chosen volunteers, most of whom were young men, and with them went Drake's brother Joseph and Mr. John Oxenham.

The journey across the Atlantic was a good one, and by 21 July, Drake was off the Spanish Main near Santa Marta, to the west of the Gulf of Venezuela. He then made for a secret harbour which he had found the previous year. But the Spaniards had been there too and had removed the treasures he had buried there. He next put together his pinnaces, and, whilst thus engaged, he was joined by James Ranse, an English privateer, who persuaded Drake to allow him to join the expedition. They then made for a small island near Nombre de Dios.

Ranse was left here in charge of the ships, and Drake went off in the pinnaces with seventy-three men to attack Nombre de Dios. This was a small unwalled town situated on a very unhealthy spot about fifty-five miles away due north of the town of Panama. It was a very quiet place except at the time when the Spanish galleons came from Cartagena to take on board the gold and silver which had been brought there across the isthmus from the mines of Peru.

Drake was able to make a surprise attack and the Spaniards were quickly driven out of the town. A great quantity of silver bars were found, and then the treasure house was seized in which the gold, pearls and jewels were kept. Drake had, as he said, brought his men to the mouth of the Treasure of the World. Unfortunately, at this point Drake, who had been wounded in the thigh, fainted, and his untried men fell into a panic. A very heavy thunder-storm had spoilt their bow strings and damped their powder, whilst the Spaniards had rallied and renewed the attack. So they abandoned their rich spoil, picked up their captain, hurried back to their boats and made for an island off the coast. There the company revived themselves and after a few days returned to Ranse. This latter, disgusted at the failure of the raid, determined to go home; and Drake no doubt was glad to be relieved of a partner who was not one of his own choice.

Drake's next exploit was to attack Cartagena, the capital of the Spanish Main. Here he failed, for the garrison had been warned; but he managed to seize a frigate and also a large ship laden with treasure, and with these he retired to an adjacent island and thought out his next plan of action. Fortunately, the English generally, and Drake in particular, had won the confidence of the Maroons, or Cimarrons, tribes of escaped negroes, who with their Indian wives inhabited the forests and were bitterly hostile to the Spaniards. He deter-

mined to take advantage of his friendly relations with these men, and with their assistance to land and cut off the *recuas*, or mule trains, bearing the Spanish treasure across the isthmus. Now Drake had not any longer enough men for all his craft, and as the pinnaces would be most useful in carrying out his new plans, he sank the "Swan," burnt his prizes, and then made for a safe hiding place in the Gulf of Darien, where he could refit and get into touch with the Maroons. To be secure in his new retreat he built a fort, which he called Diego after a faithful negro who had attached himself to Drake at Nombre de Dios. But the Maroons told him that it was impossible to make his attack until the rainy season was over, so Drake had to find occupation for his men for five months. He left his brother John and some men in charge of the fort and went off with Oxenham to Cartagena, where he made some prizes, and even ventured to shelter from the bad weather in the harbour and the adjacent roads for a fortnight, in spite of the Spanish attempts to dislodge him. This expedition gives one out of countless proofs of the hopeless impotence of the Spanish officials to resist any determined attack upon them.

On his return Drake found that his brother John had been killed whilst making a rash attack upon an armed frigate. So he determined to keep quiet, though the climate and want of regular occupation caused serious illness amongst his men, twenty-eight of whom died, including his brother Joseph. At last the time of waiting came to an end, the Maroons brought the good news that part of the fleet had reached Nombre de Dios, where they lay awaiting the mule trains. So Drake set out on 3 February with eighteen of his men, and thirty Maroons as carriers. After marching through the woods for three days, they arrived at a trim little Maroon village surrounded with a ditch and a thick mud wall. Here Drake persuaded them to put away their crosses, and he taught them the Lord's Prayer and some of the Protestant

forms of worship. Then he went on over the Cordillera range. On 11 February at 10 a.m. the Maroon Chief took Drake to the hill-top and to "the goodly and great high tree" in the trunk of which steps had been cut. In its topmost branches a little hut had been built, and the trees north and south of it had been cleared away. And from this outlook it was that Drake, looking some thirty miles to the south, gazed for the first time on the waters of the Pacific, and prayed God to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea. After that he marched down the southern slopes of the range towards Panama. Now the Spaniards always did the first stage of the journey, from Panama to Vera Cruz, by night, "because the country is all champion and consequently by day very hot"; but from Vera Cruz the journey was done by day, "because all that way is full of woods and therefore very cool". Drake learned that the Treasurer of Lima and his daughter, with a private train of mules laden with gold and jewels, were to start that evening, followed by two more mule trains bearing victuals; so that night he ordered his men to put their white shirts on over their other garments and lie in ambush near Vera Cruz, which was about fifteen miles N.N.W. of Panama. Unfortunately, one of Drake's men disobeyed orders and came out of his hiding-place as a Spanish horseman, riding in advance, came along the track. The Spaniard saw the figure in the shirt, and guessing that danger was at hand, turned and galloped back towards Panama as fast as he could, and persuaded the Treasurer to let the victual trains go before him, so these alone fell into the enemy's hands. This was, of course, a great disappointment. Moreover, Drake's presence was now known, and surprise was no longer possible. Drake determined to eat and drink from the Spanish provisions, and then to hurry towards Vera Cruz on the backs of the mules. Near the town he drove back some Spaniards who were awaiting him and then rushed the

town, which he sacked. After that he made his way back to his ship as quickly as possible, with very little to show for his venture across the isthmus.

Some time would elapse before the mule trains would start again, so Drake went out to sea in the "Minion," and captured a small ship laden with gold, whilst one of his pinnaces captured a good frigate with a valuable cargo aboard. His men used both ships for privateering. Whilst thus engaged he fell in with a Huguenot privateer, Captain Têtu, who had seventy men with him; so Drake, who had only thirty-one men left, agreed to allow Têtu to join him, and his new companion increased Drake's bitterness for the Romanists by telling him of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

A new expedition was then planned, and the party, accompanied with Maroons, made their way to the mouth of the Rio Francisco. There they left the frigate in the charge of some of the men, and continued the journey some way up the river in the pinnaces. Then leaving the boats with a guard, they lay in ambush close to Nombre de Dios on the night of 31 March. They had not long to wait before three royal mule trains, with an escort of soldiers to guard their precious burden, appeared in sight. These they easily captured, and then, heavily laden with their booty, and carrying Têtu (who had been wounded), they returned to their boats as fast as they could, each man having as much pure gold as he could carry. Some of the silver they buried on the way back. But on reaching the river, there were no boats to be seen, and, when they got in sight of the sea, they saw seven Spanish pinnaces apparently making off from the spot where their boats were to have been ready. Even so Drake refused to despair. He rigged up a raft, and, accompanied by one Englishman and two Frenchmen, he went in search of his boats, and by great good luck found the two pinnaces which had been unable to return to the mouth of the river owing to a gale.

So the expedition was successfully accomplished, though the unfortunate Têtu had to be left behind, and fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

No time was lost in preparing for the journey home. The "Pasha" was dismantled, and a captured frigate was fitted up in her place. Another small frigate was also captured, and then the two ships, loaded with gold and silver, but with crews reduced to thirty in number, made their way for Plymouth, which was reached at sermon time on Sunday, 9 August, 1573. But very few of the congregation remained with the preacher, "all hastening to see the evidence of God's love and blessing towards our gracious Queen and country".

## CHAPTER IV.

### ROUND THE WORLD.

DRAKE had come home a rich man, burning with a desire to attack the Spaniards in the Pacific, whose waters he had seen on that memorable 11 February. But it was some time before he was permitted to make the attempt, for the situation between England and Spain was much easier than it was when he left England in 1572, and his return caused considerable embarrassment to the English Government now that it was on comparatively friendly terms with Philip. So he had to keep quiet, and we hear nothing more of him until 1575, when we find him serving under the Earl of Essex on the Irish coast as the captain of the "Falcon". Whilst thus engaged he became closely acquainted with a Mr. Thomas Doughty, who had been in the confidence of the Earl of Essex, but had forfeited that trust, as the Earl thought that Doughty had lost him the support of the Earl of Leicester at Court.

By this time Drake had attracted the notice of Lord Burghley, and when he left Essex's service in the autumn of 1575 the latter gave him a letter commending him to Walsingham, the new Secretary of State, who was a vigorous Protestant and a member of the war party. Essex also introduced him to Mr. Christopher Hatton, the Queen's new favourite, for whom Doughty was acting as private secretary. At Court Drake laid his plans before Elizabeth, but he was anxious to hide them from Lord

Burghley, who consistently opposed all attempts to provoke the King of Spain. But Burghley had his "secret service," and was doubtless kept well informed of what was going on, very likely obtaining his information from Doughty, who seems to have been a very corruptible sort of person. So Drake made his preparations, and managed to keep the Spaniards in the dark; for, when the new Spanish Ambassador arrived in March, 1578, three months after Drake had started, all he could discover was that Drake had made for Nombre de Dios.

Drake had many difficulties to overcome at Court before he finally got away to sea at the end of 1577. For the Queen, as always, was unwilling to make any definite decision, sometimes siding with Walsingham and the war party and then swinging over to the more cautious views of Burghley. But the designs of Don John of Austria, Philip's Governor in the Netherlands, made it improbable that any really lasting peace could be maintained with Spain, and on 13 December Drake finally left Plymouth, ostensibly on the way to the Mediterranean or the West Indies. The fleet was well stored with every requisite, and, as before, he took with him pinnaces in pieces. He also had expert musicians and rich furniture on board, for he intended to make a good show before the world. Drake himself sailed in the "Pelican," a ship of 100 tons and carrying eighteen guns; and he had Doughty with him on board. The "Elizabeth," of eighty tons and sixteen guns, was commanded by Captain John Wynter; the "Marigold," of thirty tons and sixteen guns, and the "Swan," a "fly-boat" or store ship of fifty tons with five small guns, were commanded respectively by Captain John Thomas and Mr. John Chester; and the "Benedict," a pinnace of fifteen tons with one gun, was in charge of Thomas Moore. The crews numbered about 150 picked men, and, in addition, a number of gentlemen accompanied Drake, including Thomas Doughty and his brother.

From the very start there were troubles. To begin with, a violent gale drove them back to Plymouth for repairs, and soon Thomas Doughty's conduct threatened to ruin the whole scheme. Drake, first of all, made for the west coast of Morocco, where he captured a Portuguese ship, which he re-named the "Christopher," and incorporated it in his fleet in place of the "Benedict". Shortly after, another Portuguese ship was taken, and Drake called it the "Mary," and gave the command of it to Doughty. But he was accused of appropriating some of the cargo, and so Drake ordered him back to the "Pelican," and sailed in the "Mary" himself with his brother Thomas as captain. The men and passengers captured on the ships were set free without ransom, with the exception of a pilot, Nuño da Silva, who was well acquainted with the South Seas and was said to be willing to accompany Drake. It was not until the fleet was passing the Cape Verde Islands that the men were told that they were bound for Brazil, and soon afterwards Doughty caused more trouble. Apparently he considered that he had stepped into Drake's position when the latter left the "Pelican," and there is evidence that while he was on board an attempt was made to get the crew to desert. So, in the hope of avoiding further trouble, Doughty was put on board the "Swan," either as a private individual or as a prisoner at large.

After sailing for two months without sight of land Drake made the coast of South America near the Rio Grande do Sul. Dense fogs and terrible gales were then experienced, and it was only after a period of great anxiety that the mouth of the River Plata was reached. Here they rested for a fortnight, and then again set out, with Drake once more in charge of the "Pelican". After another bout of bad weather Drake found shelter in Port Desire, situated about 300 miles from the entrance to Magellan Straits. But the "Swan" and the "Mary" broke away from the rest in the storms, and though the

former was soon found, the latter, with John Drake on board, was not sighted until his brother was about to enter the Straits.

Drake now determined that the "Swan" was not a suitable vessel for the work, so he broke her up and put back Doughty on the "Pelican". The voyage up to this point had been a most unlucky one; for the fleet had suffered from gales, calms, sultry heat, terrific thunderstorms, and terrifying fogs, and Drake had been further worried by Doughty's suspicious behaviour. The result was to convince Drake that his former friend was "practising the Black Art" and in league with the Evil One; and in this opinion he was confirmed by the reports he heard of Doughty's behaviour on the "Swan" while she was separated from the fleet, by which it appears certain that he had endeavoured to depose the master and seize the vessel. It seemed to Drake that it would be impossible to continue the enterprise with Doughty at hand ever ready to create disorders and raise the spirit of mutiny among the crew, so he removed him to the "Christopher"; and the fleet again set sail, to be again troubled with foul weather, during which time the "Christopher" was lost for three days. Drake then put into a little bay and determined to break up the "Christopher". This done, he placed both the Doughty brothers on the "Elizabeth" in charge of Wynter, with orders that they should be kept apart from the crew and not allowed to write or read.

With only three ships—the "Pelican," the "Elizabeth," and the "Marigold"—Drake made his way down towards the Straits, and put in at Port St. Julian. Here it was that Magellan had put to death four captains for mutiny, and it was here that now Thomas Doughty was to suffer death, ostensibly for mutiny, conspiracy, witchcraft, disaffection, and insubordination. It is doubtful whether Drake had the power of life and death over the gentlemen volunteers who accompanied

him, but a jury of about forty men was chosen, with Wynter, the Vice-Admiral, as foreman. Doughty was unwise enough to blurt out that he had informed Lord Burghley of Drake's design, and this, doubtless, removed all doubt as to the prisoner's guilt; for his indiscretion made it appear that he was acting on board as Burghley's agent, to prevent any action on the part of Drake that could produce a rupture with Spain. The jury returned a unanimous verdict of guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced on him. Then Drake took the sacrament with the condemned man, and Doughty's head was struck off. Thus ended the mysterious connection of Thomas Doughty with Drake's great adventure.

Drake now determined to assert his authority. On Sunday, 11 August, after every man had taken the sacrament, Drake spoke to them of the need of harmony. "I must have the gentleman to hawl and draw with the mariner, and the mariner with the gentleman," he said; and he offered a ship to those who should be unwilling to follow him, but no one accepted the offer. Then Drake cashiered all the officers, and after giving his version of the Doughty affair, and reprimanding some of the accomplices, he promised that no more should suffer for their offences. He told them how the Queen was interested in the expedition, and explained that, if it failed, Spain would triumph over the Queen, and no one would afterwards venture to attack Spain in the Pacific. He then restored the officers to their posts, and a week later he sailed for the Straits.

We will here anticipate events in order to bring the unpleasant story of Doughty to an end. Soon after Drake's return, John Doughty prosecuted Drake for the murder of his brother. But the case was hushed up, and it was evident that some great secret of State was involved. What that was it is impossible to decide; but it is not unreasonable to suppose that Burghley was in-

volved in Doughty's proceedings, and that it was not advisable that the agreement between the two should become divulged.

It was on 20 August that Drake entered the Straits with his three ships. He then re-christened his "Pelican" the "Golden Hind," the emblem of his friend and patron, Sir Christopher Hatton, whose servant he had just executed, and whose resentment, it was said, he thus hoped to allay.

One of Drake's prisoners tells us that the "Golden Hind" was a very fast galleon, with a hundred skilled men aboard. He says that Drake treated his men with affection, and they him with respect, though he kept very strict discipline. He had with him nine or ten gentlemen, who were members of his Council, but none of them sat or remained covered in his presence without his permission.

Drake was now in utterly unknown waters, and his course became extremely intricate, owing to the numerous channels and the constantly changing winds, and he found it necessary to go ahead in a boat from time to time to feel the way. On one of the islands in the Straits he landed, and took possession of it in the name of the Queen. After seventeen days of great anxiety, he cleared the Straits, only to be met by a furious gale, which drove him, in snow and darkness, down south. During its course the "Marigold" foundered, and the "Elizabeth" disappeared from sight, and then "partly through a kind of desire that some in her had to be out of these troubles, and to be home again, partly because, no exact rendezvous having been given, there seemed little prospect of again joining the Admiral, Wynter, on making the entrance to the Straits, on 8 October, resolved to go home," and he reached England in June, 1579. Meanwhile Drake was driven before the north-eastern gale and became the unwilling discoverer of the fact that the land to the south consisted of a group of

islands and was not part of another continent stretching towards the south pole, as had been supposed. For fifty-two days Drake was battered about by storms: then fine weather set in, and he made his way up the Chili coast in the hope of finding Wynter. On the way some of the company landed with Drake on the coast, but they were fiercely attacked by the natives, who had already, perhaps, experienced the brutalities of the Spaniards. In this engagement the only surgeon in the company, the chief gunner, and his faithful negro, Diego, were killed, whilst Drake and most of the boat's crew were wounded. Fortunately Drake possessed some simple knowledge of the doctor's art, and the wounds did not prove serious. Farther up the coast they met with a much better reception; and the natives agreed to pilot them to Valparaiso, a small Spanish settlement of about nine households.

The visit of the English to the west coast of South America was a complete surprise to the Spaniards, for they did not sail European ships on the Pacific, but built vessels there for their coasting voyages up to the isthmus and back. Consequently Drake's raid along this coast was the easiest part of his enterprise. As he entered each harbour he was naturally mistaken for a Spanish visitor, and before the mistake could be rectified the English had attacked, the ships in harbour were rifled, the crews fled or were put ashore, and Drake could then make off to perform the same feat at other harbours along the coast. At Valparaiso he carried off the ship which he found in the harbour, and with her a Greek whom he kept to pilot him to Lima. After Valparaiso, Arica was visited, and then Lima, where they found twelve or fifteen fine ships all lying in fatal security. There he learned that a ship laden with bullion had started a fortnight before for Panama; so he gave chase, discarding on the way one of his captured prizes. As they drew near Cape San Francisco the object of

their pursuit came in sight. The captain of the "Cacafuego," as she was nicknamed, thought that the Spanish Viceroy was sending him some message, and so put his vessel about and made towards the "Golden Hind". He soon found out his mistake and had to surrender his ship, the richest vessel in all the South Sea. After removing treasure worth between £150,000 and £200,000, Drake released the ship and its crew with presents.

The question now arose how Drake was to get home with his heavy weight of treasure. There appeared to be four ways available. He could attempt to return the way he had come; but then he would have to run the gauntlet of the Spaniards all the way down the coast. He might make for the isthmus, land his treasure there, capture a mule train, and, after loading it, make his way across the isthmus, swoop down on an Atlantic ship, fill it with his wealth and then make for England. But this plan was also too full of risk now that the Spaniards knew that he was in the neighbourhood. A third course was to cross the Pacific, and return either by way of the Cape of Good Hope or by a course to the north of Asia. And the fourth plan was to go up north and find the passage supposed to exist between the Pacific and the Atlantic. It was this last course that Drake proposed to take, and his first care was to find a hidden creek where he might careen his vessel and prepare for the homeward journey. He had also the good luck to fall in with a frigate on which he found charts of the Pacific. But the attempt to find a sea passage to the east ended in failure. Bitter cold, heavy squalls and thick mists, the existence of which it is difficult to explain in a latitude not further north than  $43^{\circ}$ , discouraged his men, and made further progress impossible. So the "Golden Hind" was brought back to a bay in the vicinity of what is now San Francisco. Here it proved necessary to land the cargo and thoroughly overhaul the vessel, and therefore Drake built a fort to protect his

little company. The natives had probably never seen Europeans before, and they were at first very timid, but subsequently they proceeded to worship the new-comers. Drake allowed them to invest him with a crown of feathers and chains of bone, and "considering what honour and profit it might bring to our country, he took the sceptre, crown and dignity into his hand in the name and to the use of her Most Excellent Majesty, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, and named the place New Albion". This episode well illustrates Drake's kindly dealings with the natives, and the ideas in his mind in making the expedition. He was no mere adventurer or pirate. His plan was to wage war on the Spaniards with the Queen's approval, to take the natives under English protection, and to establish a new England in America as a rival to new Spain.

On 26 July, Drake left New Albion and began his voyage home across the Pacific, where for sixty-eight days he was out of sight of land. On 21 October he touched one of the Philippine Islands, and then he made south for Ternate in the Spice Islands, where the Portuguese had made themselves thoroughly detestable by their depraved cruelty. The Sultan eagerly welcomed Drake, and declared how glad he would be of an alliance with the English Queen, to whom he granted the monopoly of the spice trade in his territory. After a rest of four days, Drake set off for an uninhabited island south of Celebes, and there he made ready his ship for the most dangerous and intricate part of the voyage. The vessel soon ran upon a shoal, and so great was the shock that it looked as if she would prove a complete wreck. But the "Golden Hind" was splendidly built, and Drake managed to get her off after sacrificing some of the valuable cargo on board. But he was not clear of the dangers of these island-studded seas until the middle of February, and even then he took another month to reach

Java. There he was cordially received by the Rajah ; and after careening his ship once more he set off for the Cape of Good Hope, and finally dropped anchor in Plymouth Sound at the end of September, 1580.

In England, after Wynter's return, it was generally presumed that Drake had lost his life in the South Seas. But rumours reached England that he was still alive, and accounts of his exploits had reached Spain, where Philip was gradually collecting a large fleet and army for some unknown purpose. So the Queen was naturally alarmed lest the activity of her privateers should have at last provoked Philip to attack her, for the secret could no longer be kept that men in high position in England shared the spoils taken from the Spanish ships.

The destination of the Spanish armaments was soon disclosed. On the death of the King of Portugal in 1580, Philip at once asserted his claim to this throne, and with the forces he had gathered soon secured Portugal and all its resources. At the same time a formidable rising, supported by Philip with six hundred men, took place in Ireland.

Such was the unfavourable position of affairs when Drake dropped anchor in Plymouth Sound, to add yet another complication to the difficult situation. With several horse loads of his precious plunder, Drake made his way to London in obedience to the Queen's commands. Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, at once protested against his reception, and the great sailor's position was by no means safe ; for though the shareholders in the undertaking were beside themselves for joy,<sup>1</sup> the peaceful English merchants were in alarm lest their trade with Spain and the Netherlands should be cut off, and they called Drake "the master thief of the unknown world". Many of the Council, too, were hostile to him, and sinister reports were floating about with regard to his treatment

<sup>1</sup>The value of the plunder is variously estimated at between half a million and two and a half million pounds of our money.

of Doughty. But a reaction soon set in. Men held that the prize was lawful prize, and "taken without offence to any Christian prince or state, but only by fair reprisals," and they thought that if war with Spain broke out, the treasure would fully defray the cost of seven years' war, and so save taxation and give England a great advantage against a daring adversary. So the "Golden Hind"<sup>1</sup> was brought round to Deptford, and the Queen expressed herself well pleased with the service Drake had rendered, though the Council debated whether the treasure ought not to be returned to the King of Spain. Also the Queen was annoyed with Philip for assisting the rebels in Ireland; and in September she determined to stand by the bold mariner and actually visited the "Golden Hind," and knighted Drake on board his own vessel. So the die was cast, the long period of waiting was at an end, and the Queen stood out before the world as the enemy of the King of Spain. Recent events had made this course more necessary for her, because, although the rebellion in Ireland had collapsed, and the cause of the Netherlanders looked more hopeful, as the Duke of Anjou had consented to accept their sovereignty, and might therefore be expected to get French troops to save them from destruction, yet the acquisition of the Portuguese possessions by Philip seemed to put an end to any hope of securing an enduring peace between England and Spain.

Drake was now a very wealthy man, with an unequalled reputation for bravery and daring. He was the first Englishman to navigate the Pacific, and the first commander to sail round the world from start to finish, for Magellan had died before completing his journey.

From the various contemporary descriptions and portraits which have come down to us we can picture him

<sup>1</sup> When the "Golden Hind" was broken up, John Davis had a chair made out of her timbers and presented it to the University of Oxford. It is still to be seen in the Bodleian Library.

as a man of low stature and strong limbs, broad chested, with a round head covered with brown hair, and a full ruddy beard ; with eyes round, large, and clear, and curiously arched eyebrows ; and with a fair and cheerful countenance. He was credited with being ambitious for honour and greatly affected to popularity, also with being ostentatious and fond of vain-glorious boasting, with a high, haughty, and insolent carriage. He was of restless energy, cautious in preparation, but prompt and sudden in execution. Though a stern disciplinarian, he was careful of the lives and interests of his men, and they were devoted to him. Admiral Mansell, who knew him well, described him to his friend Hakluyt as "of a lively spirit, resolute, quick and sufficiently valiant . . . a willing hearer of every man's opinion, but commonly a follower of his own". In fact, a masterful, capable man, well able to take command and to carry through what he undertook. Knowing well what he was able to do, and what was the right time for doing it, he never failed to achieve success in any enterprise in which he had the sole command. Indeed, whether the tradition about the game of bowls be false or true as a fact, it is perfectly true as an illustration of the character of the hero of the story.

Judged by the standards of the nineteenth century, he was as much a pirate as were the Spaniards or the French ; but it is as unreasonable to judge the sixteenth century by the standards of the nineteenth, as it would be to condemn Julius Cæsar for not wearing a top hat. And when we judge him by the standard of his own time we must be struck by the sincerity of his Old Testament religion, and by the humanity which he showed to the natives of the Indies.

## CHAPTER V.

1580-1587.

WITH the return of the "Golden Hind" a new era opened for Drake, and he appears in a different rôle. He is no longer a private adventurer, but he comes to the front as one of the chief leaders on whom the Queen relies in her struggle with Philip, although we must not expect to find her always willing to follow his advice.

At first an expedition was planned for supporting Don Antonio, the claimant to the throne of Portugal, and it was proposed to set up a naval base in the Azores whence Philip's Atlantic treasure ships could be attacked. But the Queen grew cold towards the scheme when she learned how expensive the enterprise would be; so it was rejected, and, instead, a fleet was sent out to establish factories in the Moluccas, in virtue of Drake's treaty with the Ruler of Ternate. But the commander was unsuccessful, and the enterprise proved a miserable failure.

Drake remained at home at this time, and in 1581 he was appointed Mayor of Plymouth, whilst in 1584 he was elected a Member for the Parliamentary borough of Bossiney. In January, 1583, his wife died, and early in 1585 he married Mary Sydenham, the daughter and heiress of Sir George Sydenham of Combe Sydenham in Somerset.

The same year Drake was a member of a Royal Commission appointed to make a thorough inquiry into the state of the Navy and to draw up suitable regulations for its management: and so he was now able to bring his

experience and influence to bear upon the direction of the naval policy of the State.

By the year 1585 it looked as if the long impending war would at once break out, for England's cup of iniquity seemed full to the brim. Philip had been roused by the Queen's seizure of the Genoese money, by the help she had given to the rebels in the Netherlands, by the raids of Drake and other English sailors, by the expulsion of his ambassadors and the ill-treatment of his agents, and by the proposed marriage of the Queen to the Duke of Anjou; whilst English anger was stirred by the murder of the Prince of Orange, the Spanish plots against the Queen, the horrors of the Inquisition, the growing success of the Duke of Parma in the Netherlands, and the constant conflict between Spanish and English sailors in the New World. That year Philip had induced English merchants to send over a large supply of corn, and on their arrival he seized their ships, only one of them managing to escape. In reply, an embargo was laid on all Spanish goods in England, letters of reprisal were issued to the merchants, Elizabeth promised to send troops to help the Dutch, and Drake was ordered to undertake the rescue of the English vessels. Money flowed in abundantly for the expedition, which set out from Plymouth on 14 September, 1585, with about thirty ships. It was the finest fleet ever sent out from England on a semi-private venture; for though there were two of the Queen's ships the rest of them were contributed by the principal ports and private enterprise. Drake had with him a brilliant band of officers. Frobisher was Vice-Admiral, and in addition there went Francis Knollys and Captain Edward Wynter as well as Drake's brother Thomas and Richard Hawkins, the total force numbering 2300 men. As usual there were difficulties to be overcome before Drake was at last able to sail. The Queen's habit of procrastination grew stronger with her years, and matters became still more complicated when

Sir Philip Sydney, the Queen's latest favourite, who had been appointed Master of the Ordnance, escaped from Court to Plymouth and informed Drake that he intended to accompany him as a volunteer. Now Drake felt that Sydney's presence would undermine his own authority, so he hurried up to London and informed the Queen of her favourite's intention, with the result that Sydney was ordered to return to her at once, and Drake hurried back to Plymouth, and got away as quickly as he could on 14 September, 1585. The report that the object of the expedition was to rescue the captured English ships proved to be mere "camouflage," for Drake had determined to make once more for the West Indies. He first of all visited Vigo Bay, and informed the Governor that he had come to inquire whether the seizure of the English vessels was an act of war. The Governor answered that the embargo had been taken off a week ago, and that he would be pleased to allow the fleet of a friendly Prince to water and obtain fresh supplies. Then a furious storm got up, whilst suspicious activity at the mouth of the river caused Drake to scent mischief. The experiences of San Juan de Ulloa had not been forgotten, and Drake determined to get in the first blow. When the storm had abated he raided the boats in the river and collected a very considerable amount of booty. The Governor appeared quite unable to make any reprisals and had to allow Drake to furnish his ships with whatever he required. The fleet then made for Cape Blanco, in the Cape Verde Islands, where it obtained further supplies; and then Santiago, a strongly fortified town in the same group of islands, was reached. It was quite unprepared for any attack, and was easily taken and burnt, with the exception of the hospital, on 17 November.

From Santiago he made his way across the Atlantic, but his forces were sadly stricken by a pestilence which struck down between two and three hundred men, whilst many more were rendered quite useless by the sickness.

So Drake determined to spend the Christmas on St. Christopher, and there the ships were cleaned and the sick landed. From this island he sent out an advanced squadron to reconnoitre San Domingo, the capital of the Spanish Islands, important as a rendezvous of the treasure fleet and the distributing centre of European goods. A captured Greek pilot gave the adventurers useful information, and they got in touch with the Maroons who willingly agreed to fall upon the little Spanish garrison commanding a place about ten miles from the city where Drake wished to land. The result was that he was able, without any fighting, to put some of his troops ashore here under his Lieutenant-General, Carleill. With the rest he passed on and opened fire on the castle, whilst Carleill broke into the city; so the garrison withdrew from the castle and Drake was able to enter the harbour and seize all the shipping. But his demands for ransom remained for a long time unsatisfied, so he gradually burned down one part of the city after another, until at last the remainder was ransomed for about £50,000 of our present money. Then on 1 February Drake set out again, having revictualled his ships and augmented his fleet with many of the Spanish vessels found in the harbour, and some 240 guns and a great many liberated galley slaves.

The next objective was Cartagena, a place well defended by nature from attack by sea by reason of dangerous shallows and very narrow approaches, in addition to which the Spaniards had put a chain across the mouth of the harbour, and the whole town was very nearly surrounded by water. The garrison here was prepared for Drake's visit, and there was a stiff fight before the English broke through the gates and occupied the city square. After that the Spaniards fled from the town and the garrison surrendered the fort. And thus was taken the capital of the Spanish Main and the headquarters of the Spanish fleet. As before, it was difficult to extract a

ransom, and Drake destroyed the ships in the harbour and then bit by bit burnt the town, until what was left was ransomed for about £30,000. But the amount of booty obtained was disappointing, as the Spaniards had had time to remove their treasures before his arrival.

It was unfortunate that it was found impossible to keep hold of Cartagena, for its retention would have entirely ruined Philip's plan of attacking England, besides destroying his American trade, and perhaps bringing about the fall of his empire in the New World. But Drake and his Council agreed that it would be impossible to keep hold of the city with the forces at his disposal, and there does not appear to be any justification for criticising the decision of the men on the spot.

The return was delayed by very foul weather, during which Drake's handling of his crews was greatly admired by his officers, for he dealt with his depressed and sick men as a comrade rather than as an officer.

The journey took them along the coast of Florida, for by that means they would get into the anti-trade winds which blow steadily from the south-west. They landed at St. Augustine and destroyed the new Spanish settlement there, and then they sailed up north looking for Raleigh's new colony of "Virginia". This they discovered about the middle of June, and the dejected colonists persuaded Drake to take them away with him.

So once more he returned home, in July, 1586, having opened "a very great gap, very little to the liking of the King of Spain". The shareholders of the enterprise made the very handsome profit of fifteen shillings in the pound, after paying the men one third of the proceeds; but Drake and his officers do not appear to have shared in the good fortune of the promoters, who, however, urged the Government to see that Drake and his officers were suitably rewarded!

The moral effect of this adventure was most important, for it came at a time when the success of the Duke of

Parma in the Netherlands threatened a speedy attack upon England. Now it looked as if Philip had been irretrievably ruined and would be unable to find money for any further undertaking; for the Spaniards estimated that their losses since the preceding August amounted to one and a half million ducats, and declared that a national war would have been less costly.

But Philip kept steadily on his way. A military and naval attack was not possible at once, but much might be accomplished by the cheaper methods of plots. And so Babington was encouraged to plan the assassination of the Queen; but the plot was discovered, the leaders were caught, and Mary Queen of Scots, charged with complicity in it, was executed in February, 1587.

The danger of invasion again seemed imminent, but it passed away: for Philip was unable to follow up the plot with an attack in force, and Elizabeth once again began to negotiate with him for a lasting peace, although she had sent the Earl of Leicester with a force to the Netherlands, and Hawkins to capture the Plate fleet which Drake had failed to find on his return. Drake was put in charge of the shipping at Plymouth, and he was sent over to the Netherlands to get the Dutch to join in some big naval expedition; but he failed to win their assistance. At the same time plans were formed to help Don Antonio, who was then in England, and to form an alliance with the Turks who had now recovered from their defeat at Lepanto in 1572.

Philip, however, continued to make preparations for the invasion of England. Elizabeth then decided to anticipate him by making a raid on his shipping, and sent Drake from Plymouth in April, 1587, with a squadron of twenty-three sail, his flagship being the "Elizabeth Bonaventure". The fleet included four of the Queen's ships, four belonging to the Levant Company, and four fitted out by Drake himself, besides several more supplied by the West of England. As the Queen's Admiral he

received a commission "to impeach the joining together of the King of Spain's fleet out of their several ports, to keep victuals from them, to follow them in case they should come forward towards England or Ireland, and to cut off as many of them as he could and impeach their landing, as also to set upon such as should either come out of the West or East Indies into Spain or go out of Spain thither". On 19 April Drake appeared before Cadiz. Besides defeating and destroying two huge vessels and a large number of iron-beaked war galleys, he carried off four ships laden with provisions, and gained full information about Philip's preparations. He also captured many prisoners whom he proposed to exchange for English captives, but as the Spanish Governor refused, he sold his Spaniards to the Moors, keeping the money to be used to redeem English prisoners in their hands. Then after an unsuccessful attack upon Lagos, he captured the strong castle on Cape Sagres, the fortified monastery of St. Vincent, and the castle of Valliera : all of which were destroyed. Whilst the land forces under Drake himself had been thus engaged, his ships had destroyed about fifty small ships along the coast. The fleet then anchored in Cascaes Bay outside Lisbon, but being unable to do anything here, Drake again made for Cape St. Vincent, where he refreshed his men and cleaned his ships, and sent home urgent appeals for reinforcements, so that he might be able to hold on to this important station. But the Queen had neither men nor money to spare to secure the post, so Drake had once more to abandon it. Philip was naturally greatly alarmed by Drake's visit, for, as the Venetian dispatches said, the English were the masters of the sea and held it at their discretion. Lisbon, with the whole coast, was, as it were, blockaded.

The King sent order after order giving one plan after another for driving him away. But Drake's attacks had put everything out of gear, and before the Spaniards

were ready to take the offensive, Drake was off to the Azores. There a storm scattered his fleet, and when it abated, only ten vessels were to be found in his company, and one of these deserted. But still he pressed on and had the luck to capture the ship he was seeking. This was Philip's own East Indiaman the "San Felixe," in which he found not only treasure, spices and other goods, valued at nearly a million of our money, but also papers which gave our English merchants their first clear idea about the nature and value of the East India trade.

After securing this rich prize he made for home and reached Plymouth 26 June, three months after the time of his departure.

During this expedition Drake had serious difficulty with his Vice-Admiral, Borough, who commanded the "Golden Lion". Borough complained that Drake took unjustifiable risks, and that he did not consult his captains, but called them together merely to explain to them his plans, a course contrary to the instructions laid down for the service in the time of Henry VIII. So strong was Borough's remonstrance that Drake, with his usual impetuosity, put Borough under arrest on the "Lion," which he then entrusted to a Captain Marchant. The day after the gale that dispersed Drake's fleet had subsided, the "Lion" went in chase of a strange sail, and then made off for home, though Captain Marchant left her and returned to Drake with the news that the crew refused to obey his orders to rejoin the fleet. Marchant believed that Borough was at the bottom of this mutiny. Drake thereupon summoned a council of war, consisting of all the captains and masters of the fleet, and had the mutineers tried. They were declared guilty, and Borough and all the officers were sentenced to death in their absence. But on his return Drake was not able to get the sentence executed. The rules of the Navy did not give the admiral power of life and death over his chief officers ;

and Borough was acquitted of mutiny and subsequently promoted to be Controller of the Navy.

Although this court was at first called rather as a court of inquiry, it had assumed the character of a court martial; and from this date the naval court martial seems to have been a common institution.

Thus Drake had shown that not only Flanders and the Indies, but also Portugal and Spain were insecure as long as England remained unconquered. For in a period of less than two months he had completely swept from the coasts of Galicia, Portugal and Andalusia, every kind of vessel, and had also ruined the tunny fishery, on which the inhabitants depended for food in Lent. In Cadiz alone he had destroyed 10,000 tons of shipping, as well as the stores collected by Philip for his Armada; and he had demonstrated for all future time the uselessness of the war galley when attacked by the broadside fire of the sailing ship. So he had paralysed the mighty preparations which were being made against his country, and had done so much damage that, as the Venetian Ambassador wrote, "though the King were to obtain a most signal victory against him, he would not recover one half the loss he had suffered".

## CHAPTER VI.

### PREPARATIONS FOR THE ARMADA.

DRAKE found on his return that the Queen's warlike ardour had completely cooled down. It was in vain that he warned her of the greatness and the imminence of the danger, and explained that he had merely "singed the King of Spain's beard". She would neither allow Drake to renew the attack, nor would she keep her fleet together to meet the approaching danger; though she sent a few ships to blockade the Flemish ports, where Parma was concentrating troops for the invasion of her country. She still seemed to think that peace was possible and had not ceased her negotiations with Parma, even suggesting that he should set up an independent State for himself in the Netherlands.

The dogged Philip still clung to his plan of invasion, and urged on his officers to start for England. But his Admiral, Santa Cruz, found that he must land his troops and careen and caulk his ships. He sent an expert to Philip to warn him of the danger of sailing so late in the year, of the bad condition of the fleet, of the lack of sailors, and of the deaths and desertions in the army. But the King refused to listen, and so Santa Cruz wrote to Philip in November assuring him that to set out during the winter months meant destruction; that the rising in Ireland was over, that no faith could be placed in the King of Scotland, that Spain would be exposed to the attacks of the Turks, and that the climate of

England in winter would be fatal to his men. So Philip was at last persuaded that the expedition could not start till the next year. Drake had ruined his plans as far as the year 1587 was concerned, and the Queen's policy was for the time justified. At the end of the year she began to make vigorous preparations for the coming storm, though she would not allow Drake to visit the Spanish coast again, and she still continued her negotiations with Parma.

But Philip had no intention of being diverted from his course; though the death of Santa Cruz in January, 1588, destroyed the last hopes of the success of his plans. For the Admiral was a great man, and the only one who was able to influence the obstinate King, whose determination to see, understand, and deal with every point himself "is a great source of constant delays, and prevents the completion of the necessary steps to meet the evil, which is the general opinion, and, in fact, is most serious".

Here a few words on the Navy—the weapon with which England was to fight her great antagonist—will not be out of place.

Henry VIII. may be considered as the creator of the Royal Navy, for he not only bought large merchant ships abroad, which he converted into "men-of-war," but he also built several war ships, and at the time of his death possessed fifteen vessels of about 250 tons burden.

Still the Royal Navy was supposed to constitute only a nucleus of the naval defences of the country, and the majority of the ships were drawn from private owners. This was not a source of difficulty, because in those days there was little difference between a fighting ship and an armed merchantman: for the latter was fitted out not only for trade, but for self-defence and offence, if a profitable chance of privateering presented itself; and by the time of Elizabeth piracy was a recognised and respectable profession, in which men of all classes gained a

thorough knowledge of how to handle ships and how to fight them.

It was during Elizabeth's reign that sails definitely replaced oars as the method of propulsion in fighting ships. The change meant nothing less than a revolution in naval tactics: for whilst the aim of the rowing ship was to ram its enemy, the object of the sailing ship, as developed by the English, was to overwhelm the enemy with gun-fire from a distance, and with this object they developed "broadside" fire. Here they broke away from the tactics of the Portuguese and Spanish seamen; for these latter, even after they had thrown over oars in favour of sails, still clung to the old idea of closing with the enemy and boarding him, and thus fighting with soldiers a land fight upon the sea. In fact, while the English were gradually learning to use their ships as gun platforms, the Spaniards used theirs to bring their soldiers in touch with those of the enemy.

In 1570 the Royal Navy possessed only thirteen ships, but Sir John Hawkins was made Treasurer in 1574, and during his seventeen years of office he may be said to have organised future victory. Hawkins' policy favoured medium sized ships averaging about 500 tons, which would be easy to handle and would act as gun platforms for muzzle-loading guns, the heaviest of which were thirty-pounder "demi-cannons". But Hawkins was troubled all through by the excessive parsimony of the Queen, and by the speculation carried on by the officials, who acted as profiteering middlemen, buying what was required cheap and then selling it to the Navy at exorbitant prices.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE ARMADA FIGHT.

As the information from Spain made it evident that the Armada would soon be ready, the Council made definite plans as to how it should be met. Already Lord Howard had been sent to keep up the blockade of Dunkirk, and he had with him a highly efficient squadron.

The Council proposed to put a fleet in the narrow seas off the east coast and another between Ireland and Spain. An expedition was also to be sent to Portugal when the Spanish fleet had put to sea, and a fourth fleet was to make for the Azores to capture treasure ships.

This was not a plan which commended itself to Drake, for he wished to lie off Lisbon and attack the Armada as it put to sea with the full strength of the English fleet.

However, the original plan was altered. Lord William Seymour and Sir William Wynter were sent to blockade the Flemish coast and keep the eastern end of the English Channel, and Howard with over forty large ships and at least twenty smaller vessels sailed to Plymouth, where Drake had already gathered together about thirty ships. Lord Howard, as Lord High Admiral, made the "Ark" his flagship. It was a splendid ship, which had been designed for Sir Walter Raleigh and sold by him to the Queen. Howard thought her "the odd ship in the world for all conditions". Drake was appointed Vice-Admiral of the fleet and loyally put himself under the nominal command of Howard, bearing himself, as Howard said, "lovingly and kindly" under him. For we

must remember that though the High Admiral was experienced in sea affairs, he was rather a courtier than a seaman, and the success of the fleet depended upon Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, and Fenner. Still, great praise is due to Howard for being able to recognise the greater genius of Drake.

The English fleet numbered about 200 vessels, thirty-four of which belonged to the Royal Navy. A great number of the other ships were too small to be of much use, and not more than fifty in all were over 200 tons' burden. But they were much better and more heavily armed than the Spanish, answered the helm much more quickly, and could fire three times as fast. They were, in fact, better fighting machines, and were handled by real sailors and skilful gunners.

The fleet contained some well-known captains and ships; for besides the "Ark" there was the "Revenge," commanded by Drake, whilst Rear-Admiral Sir John Hawkins commanded the "Victory," and Captain Martin Frobisher the "Triumph".

On 30 May, Howard set out with his whole fleet, apparently with the intention of making for Vigo Bay; but contrary winds drove him back. Then he received orders to ply up and down between Spain and England. But sickness and lack of victuals kept him in harbour, and though he started again, gales drove him into Plymouth.

It is fairly evident that the Spaniards never regarded their Armada as "invincible". At Rome and Paris its failure was regarded as almost certain, and from the Venetian dispatches we learn that it was considered as beaten before it sailed. Philip's old-fashioned ideas did not give it a chance against the modern English ships with their broadside fire. For Philip intended his fleet to fight the usual land battle at sea, and the Armada carried three times as many soldiers as sailors. Thus, while the Spanish flagship was 1000 tons' burden, it

carried only 48 guns and 470 men, most of whom were soldiers ; whereas the "Ark," a vessel of 800 tons, carried 64 guns and 425 men, most of whom were sailors. Again, the Spanish fleet numbered about 130 vessels, of which sixty-two were over 300 tons ; but a great number of them were merely transports, and not fighting ships at all.

The Armada, under the command of the Duke of Sidonia, who knew nothing about a sailor's duties, started from Lisbon on 18 May ; but its progress was very slow, and as many of its ships as possible put into Corunna on 9 June to replenish their stores, whilst the rest were scattered along the coast by a gale. So the fleet had to be reorganised before it was fit to proceed, and this work took a month to accomplish. But Howard was unable to take advantage of this opportunity, for he did not learn of the disordered condition of his enemies, and if he had done so, the adverse winds would have prevented him from setting out.

When the English fleet was at length able to start, it was divided into three divisions, with Drake on the left wing towards Ushant with twenty big ships, and Hawkins on the right wing with a similar squadron towards Scilly. But still the enemy did not appear, so the fleet took up its station off Ushant on 7 July, whilst pinnaces were sent out to obtain news of the enemy. Then, urged on by Drake, Howard made for the Spanish coast ; but again the wind played the traitor, and, being short of victuals, they had to return to Plymouth, which they reached on 12 July.

This long delay was beginning to tell severely on England, for the cost of maintaining the fleet was great, and sickness played havoc with the crews. At last, on Friday, 19 July, news came that the enemy had been sighted off the Lizard.

A favouring wind gave Medina Sidonia a great advantage as he drew near Plymouth, for the English fleet

had to put out in the teeth of this wind and pass during the night across the Spanish front in order to obtain the "weather gauge," a difficult manœuvre which was nevertheless skilfully carried out.

The Spaniards made their way slowly up the Channel in battle order, with the object of joining the Duke of Parma off the Flemish coast. Outside Plymouth the English, on 21 July, made their first attack and "distressed" two of the best ships of the enemy, Howard's plan being to "pluck their feathers one by one". From Plymouth Medina Sidonia made towards the Isle of Wight, and Howard followed; but in the night Drake, who was leading the van, made off to capture a disabled ship. It looks as if Drake had lapsed for the time into the privateer of former days. He declared, however, that he saw ships coming up apparently with the intention of "weathering" him, and made for them; but on finding that they were Germans let them pass, and then on his way back fell in with the crippled Spanish ship and captured it. The incident caused considerable friction, for apparently Hawkins and Frobisher had already disabled her, and Frobisher wrote "he (i.e. Drake) thinketh to cozen us out of our share of the 15,000 ducats, but we will have our share . . . for he hath done enough of those cozening tricks".

By nightfall the next day both fleets lay between Portland and the Isle of Wight in a dead calm; and the day following (Tuesday, 23 July) they joined battle again, the object of the English being apparently to drive the Spaniards on to the dangerous "Owers". During this fight, Frobisher and some of the others were cut off from the rest and were in danger until a change of wind enabled them to extricate themselves.

On the following day Howard divided his fleet into four squadrons whilst he was waiting for a fresh supply of ammunition. The first division he led himself, to Drake the second was assigned, the third was placed

under Hawkins, and Frobisher commanded the fourth. A dead calm kept the fleet inactive most of the next day, but later a gale sprang up and the Spaniards, fearing to be driven on to the "Owers" by Drake and Hawkins, made their way towards Calais.

So far, then, the results had simply proved the superior tactics of the English Admirals and the excellence of the sailing power of the English ships. Sidonia's new plan was a faulty one; for there was no port in the neighbourhood of Calais where he could shelter, whilst Seymour and Wynter came down from the eastern end of the Channel with twenty ships and joined Howard on Saturday, 27 July. This brought the number of Howard's fleet up to about 140, whilst the Spaniards numbered about 124. On the night of Sunday, 28 July, the English sent eight fire-ships against the Spanish fleet, and Sidonia ordered his ships to cut their cables and make north as best they could. So off went the Spaniards, and the English pursued them with the object of preventing them from reforming after their hurried flight. Unfortunately Howard turned aside from the pursuit to capture a crippled galleasse, "the finest vessel on the whole face of the seas".

The Admiral had forgotten that his object was the destruction of the Armada, and slipped back into his old habit of mind; and when he turned aside his squadron followed, leaving it to the others to carry out the destruction of the Spanish fleet. Still, in the end he managed to return, some four hours after the battle had been joined. The wind was now north-west; and Sidonia, threatened with the shipwreck of his fleet on the Dunkirk flats, determined to face his enemies, and managed to get together about fifty of his ships, and to put them in some sort of fighting order, in spite of Drake's attempts to prevent him. Frobisher severely criticised Drake's tactics; but Frobisher did not understand the new ideas, and was as conspicuous for getting himself

into tight corners as he was for the bravery with which he fought his way out of them.

Sidonia had to bear the brunt of the English attack until the rest of the Armada could join him, and the Admiral made a sturdy resistance, during which he contrived what we should now call a smoke barrage. The battle soon developed into a running fight for eight hours off Gravelines. It was a very hot engagement, and the slaughter on the Spanish ships was terrible; for the Spaniards fought tenaciously and put up a magnificent fight against the English, who came up and poured broadside after broadside into them, and then showed great agility in "going about". Thus about sixteen of the enemy's ships were put out of action, and the English, who had lost about a hundred men, were well nigh certain that they had the enemy completely in their hands, when a most violent squall swept down, which, though it lasted only a quarter of an hour, entirely altered the aspect of affairs and robbed the English of the fruits of their victory. But one of their objects had been accomplished. The Spaniards had been driven out of the Channel, and could no longer hope to join Parma, and, as they subsequently admitted, their losses in this fight amounted to 600 killed and 800 wounded.

The expenditure of ammunition by the English in this fight was on a scale never reached in any former battle, and when the squall was over, Howard, after reforming his fleet, had to be content just to keep in touch with the Spaniards so as to prevent any attempt to return. The Armada was by this time bearing away towards the north-east, and as night came on and the wind and the sea got up, it looked as if the whole fleet would be driven by the wind on to the Zeeland banks; but again it was saved by the change of wind, and the next day a southerly breeze enabled it to make for the North Sea.

We can well understand the intense disappointment of the English at the comparatively small result of all

their efforts. Howard held a fresh Council of War to determine what plan of campaign should be pursued. The decision was that Seymour and Wynter should remain to keep an eye on the Flemish coast and guard the Channel, and that the rest of the fleet should pursue the Spaniards. This plan was carried out until Friday morning (2 August), by which time the English fleet was about sixty miles off Newcastle. Then lack of water and of ammunition and a change of wind to the north-west caused them to turn about and make for the North Foreland, where they could renew their supplies and be ready to attack the Armada, if it took advantage of the wind and made an effort to join the Duke of Parma. By this time the Queen was appalled at the enormous expense in which she had been involved, and annoyed that the enterprise had yielded so little plunder. So she called Howard to attend her Council, and with him apparently went Drake and Hawkins. Disease was now playing terrible havoc among the crew, and the ships, too, were in need of a thorough overhauling. So the Council ordered Howard to reduce the fleet to a hundred sail, and Drake and Hawkins were sent to Sheerness to carry out the order. But whilst this reduction was being effected, Sir Edward Norreys, who had apparently been left to keep in touch with the Armada, arrived with the news that it was returning. So Howard tried to get the fleet ready to put to sea. But there were other rumours afloat contradicting the report brought in by Norreys, and these proved to be correct; for soon information came to hand that the Spaniards had been seen to the west of the Orkneys, and that Parma had retired to Bruges and given up all thought of invading England. So the English fleet was disbanded, except a few ships retained to guard the Channel.

The return journey of the Armada was more fatal than was the fortnight's fighting with the English. Scarcely half the ships got back to Spain, and only five thousand

men survived ; whereas the English lost only about a hundred men and one ship.

Englishmen, however, naturally asked why the results were so poor. They forgot that victory means working according to plan, and that in the days of sailing ships plans were at the mercy of wind and weather. The well-known legend on the medal gives a fair explanation of what happened to the Armada on its return journey, but it is no commentary on the events of the fortnight, when, as we have seen, the weather saved the Spaniards from destruction on many occasions. But in spite of all, as the Pope said, "the Queen's distaff outweighed the King's sword".

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CADIZ.

IT was the desire of Drake and Sir John Norreys to follow up the Armada by taking a small efficient military force to capture Lisbon, liberate Portugal, and complete the destruction of the maritime power of Spain. But Drake knew that such a scheme was not likely to be taken up by Elizabeth alone, so he proposed that a joint stock company should undertake it, with the Queen as one of the shareholders.

The original plan provided for a grant by the Queen of £20,000 in money, the use of six ships of the Royal Navy, equipped for three months with artillery, weapons and ammunition, permission to levy 8000 men, a request for additional men and transport from Holland, and a Royal Commission, giving the right to press ships and men for the service, take provisions at Government prices, exercise martial law, and distribute the prizes. In addition to the contributions from the Crown, Norreys and Drake agreed that private adventurers should subscribe £40,000. They also asked that the Queen should agree to pay all losses if she recalled or delayed the expedition, and to feed the soldiers if they were held back for more than ten days by bad weather. Most of these requirements, though in general terms, were provided for in the Commission, which was granted to Drake on 11 October.

Private subscriptions came in readily, and the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Rich, Sir Charles Blount, and many other courtiers, became adventurers. £10,000 was subscribed by the City, besides £5000 by the London merchants. Drake put in £2000, and from his friends

he collected £6000. Don Antonio promised large amounts from his rents in Spain, guaranteed the whole cost of the expedition, and promised to take into his service the officers and soldiers; and the army was to be allowed to loot Spanish property in Lisbon, and to burn Philip's ships in Lisbon and Seville.

The greatest difficulty was to obtain trained soldiers; for there were probably not more than a thousand men in England who had ever seen foreign service, and for that reason it was essential to get the hardy English veterans who were fighting in the Netherlands.

Drake went down by sea to Plymouth, in order to make his final arrangements, and, as he left Dover, he fell in with a fleet of sixty Dutch boats in ballast on their way to Rochelle, and induced their skippers to join him and transport his soldiers. On his arrival at Plymouth, he was joined by crowds of gentlemen and soldiers, all eager to join such a promising expedition. By 19 March the fleet was ready to sail from Plymouth. It was the largest that had ever been gathered together there, and consisted of about 150 vessels, of all kinds, including eight ships of the Royal Navy, seventy-seven armed merchantmen, and the Dutch "fly" boats, with between 14,000 and 22,000 men. The uncertainty as to this latter figure is due to two causes; firstly, because the masters exaggerated their numbers, and, secondly, because others were interested in concealing as far as possible the amount of men engaged.

As had happened so often before, adverse winds delayed the start, and the fleet was held up in harbour for a month.

During this enforced stay the troops were drilled, and the army and fleet organised on an elaborate basis. But there was trouble, too. The Dutch masters became restive, and even protested against their detention and treatment. Then the Earl of Essex caused more trouble, for he fled from the monotony of his life at Court to Falmouth, and going at once to Sir Roger

Williams on the "Swiftsure," persuaded him to make use of a chance breeze and slip out of harbour; and he was not heard of again until the "Swiftsure" once more joined the fleet off the coast of Portugal. He thus freed himself from the pursuit of the Queen's Messengers, who were sent to bring him back. This proved to be a most serious episode; for Elizabeth felt her dignity so injured, and her pride and feelings were so ruffled by the disobedience of her favourite, that from this time she became actively hostile towards the expedition, and, although matters had gone too far for her to cancel the whole scheme, she put every obstacle in the way.

The great danger to the expedition at this time was due to the exhaustion of supplies during the stay at Plymouth; for the Council were very grudging in supplying what was necessary, and when the force set out it had little more than two weeks' provisions on board, though, after its departure, the Council sent out further supplies.

It was not until 18 April that Drake was at last able to get to sea, and with him went Don Antonio. The Council had given him instructions to attack the shipping on the north coast of the Peninsula, and then on the west, as far as Lisbon; so that England might not be in danger during his absence. Then, if the Portuguese appeared likely to support Don Antonio, troops were to be landed, Lisbon seized, and Antonio set up. But these orders were not carried out. Drake did not believe that there was any danger to be feared from the Spanish navy, and he said that the wind prevented him from attacking Santander in the Bay of Biscay. He himself wished to make straight for Lisbon, but the Generals felt that some consideration must be paid to the Council, and, as a compromise, it was determined to attack Corunna. This town was reached on 24 April. The troops were at once landed, and the lower town taken and plundered without much difficulty. Unfortunately, the soldiers found a great deal of wine there, and soon they were for a time incapable of any further action.

When they had recovered, an attack was made upon the upper town or fortress, but this was a failure. News was then brought that a Spanish army was being collected to attack the invaders ; so Norreys at once marched against it, Drake remaining behind to hold the Corunna garrison in check. Norreys' attack was a brilliant success, and he returned to camp, after completely defeating the Spaniards and laying waste the country after the fashion of that time.

It was then decided to waste no more time in trying to capture the fortress, for the Generals were satisfied with the amount of spoil they had already obtained, which included about fifty "great brass pieces," and a great number of pikes. So, after burning the lower town and all the shipping, except three ships, which they took with them on 9 May they set sail for Peniche. On the way they fell in with the "Swiftsure," with the truant Essex on board. A landing was effected, after some difficulty in a dangerous bay close to Peniche under the lead of Essex himself, much to the surprise of the Spaniards, who thought that the rocks and surf sufficiently protected the coast at that point. So great was the dash of the troops that they were able to occupy the town the same night, and the Spaniards withdrew inland, whilst the castle of Peniche was also surrendered.

And now there were differences of opinion as to the best plan of attacking Lisbon. Drake wished to re-embark the troops and land them at Cascaes, so that they might co-operate with the fleet in attacking the castle of St. Julian which guarded the mouth of the Tagus. But Don Antonio was eager to march overland to Lisbon, and Drake had to give in, though he felt that such an undertaking without the necessary cavalry and baggage train was a mistake. So the troops were left on shore under Norreys, and Drake took the fleet down to Cascaes, which was reached 22 May. He was able to occupy the town without any trouble, and then proceeded to lay siege to the castle, whilst waiting to hear of the progress of Norreys. He has been criticised for not sailing up

the Tagus and co-operating with the land forces. But had he done so, he would probably have lost his fleet ; for the westerly winds would have made it impossible to cross the bar, and he would have been exposed to the fire of the forts, whilst the Cadiz fleet was also being brought round to Lisbon to attack him.

Norreys' operations were most unsuccessful. Peniche is forty-five miles from Lisbon, and the march took six days, for the Portuguese were afraid to come forward to help the English, and the Spaniards threatened the army all the way. But the real enemy was disease and death, caused by the crowded ships, the hot climate, the surfeit at Corunna, the privations on the march, and the poor physical stamina of the troops, of whom about 200 died every day. Still, the suburbs of Lisbon were ultimately reached on 25 May, and the Spaniards thought it best to burn the stores in the neighbourhood to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands. But Norreys was able to do nothing more, and after besieging Lisbon for less than a week, he determined to beat a hasty retreat to Cascaes. This he was able to effect, and the army embarked without further loss. Just as the fleet was preparing to leave, a large Hanseatic fleet of about seventy ships appeared in sight. Drake at once went out and captured it, finding that it was laden with stores of all kinds for the new Armada which Philip was preparing. Advantage was also taken of this lucky capture to release the Dutch boats that had been pressed into the service. This event was followed by the arrival of supplies, and also of an express messenger from the Queen giving peremptory orders that Essex was to be sent home at once, orders that it was impossible to disobey.

The English fleet then put to sea intending to make for the Azores, but the weather was very changeable. At first a calm held it up, and it was attacked by nineteen Spanish galleys which managed to sink four English ships. When the wind got up again it was contrary, and the fleet took seventeen days to get to Vigo. There a

landing was effected and the town was burnt. It was now necessary to form fresh plans, for Drake's forces were very much reduced, and his best friend, William Fenner, the Rear-Admiral, had died of wounds. But the new plans were rendered abortive by a fierce gale which scattered the fleet, and so damaged the "Revenge" that there was nothing for it but to make for Plymouth as quickly as possible.

The expedition was undoubtedly a great failure, due to many causes besides the badness of the weather. First of all the landing at Corunna was a mistake. "The landinge at the Groyne was a lingring of the other designe (i.e. the seizing of Lisbon), a consuminge of victualls, a weakeninge of the armie by the immoderate drinking of the souldiers, a warning to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugal, and as great as all this, a discouragement to proceede further, beinge repulsed in the first attempt".

Others attributed the failure to the fact that the Queen did not wholly undertake it herself. "For whosoever he be of a subject that thinks to undertake soe great an enterprise without a prince's purse shall be deceived . . . and therefore those two generalls . . . never overshott themselves more than in undertakinge soe great a charge with soe little meanes, which is the only cause to be imputed to the ill successe of it, for where there is victualls and arms wantinge what hope is there of prevailing". Others again thought that the reason was to be found in "the Portugalls faylinge of their helps and assistance". Still there were some redeeming points, and the enterprise was not without its use, for it destroyed all chance of a second Armada. It showed, too, again the reckless bravery of the leaders and the feebleness of the Spanish defence. Still the Queen was intensely annoyed. She had entrusted the expedition to these daring men, and all they had done was to exhaust her resources and ruin any possible reconciliation with the Spanish King.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE END.

DRAKE was now again in disgrace, his policy was thrown over, and the conflict once more degenerated into a war on the enemy's commerce, stimulated by the quest for rich prizes. But this game was no longer as easy or profitable as in earlier days, for Philip had elaborately organised his trans-Atlantic service to meet the English attack, and new fast men-of-war of smaller size for carrying the treasure had been built at Havana, where all the treasure ships were now ordered to unload.

In 1590 the Council woke up to action, and sent Hawkins and Frobisher to blockade the Spanish ports and intercept the treasure fleet from the Indies, and Drake was sent to fortify Plymouth. He was also sent to watch the Breton coast, where the Spaniards had seized Hennebon and Blavet.

The enterprise of Hawkins and Frobisher produced very little booty, for Philip got news of their coming and ordered his ships to winter at Havana. But they had effected something, for they had stopped Spanish trade with her colonies, and caused such a financial distress that Philip was unable to send Parma money to pay his troops. This was of great service to Henry of Navarre, who had assumed the title of Henry IV. after the murder of the last of the Valois House in 1588.

The English Government determined to send out another expedition commanded by Lord Howard and Sir Richard Grenville with about sixteen ships, whilst Drake was sent to keep his eye on the Spanish coast. Howard and Grenville showed no skill in this enterprise, and allowed themselves to be completely surprised at Flores

by a Spanish fleet of some fifty ships, and it was there that Sir Richard Grenville made an undying name for himself on the "Revenge," whilst Howard was able to get away. But storms, which so far in our story had so often ruined the English plans, on this occasion worked in their favour; for a tempest destroyed about half of the Spanish ships, while Howard was able to weather the storm, and also to pick up sufficient prizes to prevent the promoters of the expedition from being much out of pocket.

And now as reports were filtering in that Philip was preparing another Armada, the Queen was anxious to keep her Navy at home to meet it, and only minor expeditions were sent out to prey on Spanish commerce. As the danger from Spain grew greater the Queen again turned to Drake, who had since 1590 made his headquarters at Buckland Abbey, near Plymouth. In 1592 he was summoned to Court; but nothing was done, and, meanwhile, Philip was securely establishing himself on the coast of Brittany. It was determined to send an expedition to attack the Spaniards there on the Crozon Peninsula opposite Brest, and Norreys and Frobisher were sent to act in conjunction with a French force. After a desperate attack the place was taken, Brest was relieved, and 400 Spaniards were put to death. Here Frobisher, after a display of great courage, received a mortal wound and died just after he was landed at Plymouth. The success of Norreys removed the fear of a Spanish attack from Brittany; but there was now renewed trouble in Ireland, where Hugh O'Neill had plotted a very formidable rising with the assistance of a Spanish force.

The English Government determined to anticipate the new attack from Spain, and Drake, who in 1593 was chosen Member of Parliament for Plymouth, was sent over to the Netherlands to persuade them not only to take a share in the expedition, but also to consent to the withdrawal of the English force which had been sent over to assist them. The expedition was to be a private one, to which the Queen was to contribute six ships.

Drake and Hawkins were given the joint command, and they were to make an attack on the Isthmus of Panama. The force was to include a large number of troops under Sir Thomas Baskerville, who had already proved himself a most capable commander in the Low Countries. There were more than the usual delays in setting out, for though the expedition was ordered for November, 1594, it was not ready until August, 1595. Thus the Spaniards had time to bring home safely the Havana fleet, and to recover from the alarm caused by the news that Drake was once more to lead an attack against them, besides being able to make full preparations to meet him.

In July a Spanish force of about 600 men landed in Cornwall and laid waste the district round Penzance at its leisure, without any resistance on the part of the inhabitants. Soldiers were quickly despatched from Plymouth, and the enemy was speedily driven out; but the incident was a great shock to the Government, and Drake received orders not only to release Baskerville to look after the Cornish defences, but also to give up all idea of an immediate attack on the Isthmus. He was ordered to look out for the Spaniards along the south coast of Ireland, and if he found none, he was to sail for the Spanish coast so as to meet any fleet sent out to threaten England, and if none appeared he was to lie in wait for the West Indian fleet. These, we must remember, were orders given to men provided with troops for a campaign on land. The Admirals replied that if they undertook the Irish cruise it must be at the Queen's expense, and they pointed out the impossibility of carrying out her plans with the forces which they had already got together for an entirely different project. But the Queen would not let them go on the old venture until she heard that there was a rich prize to be captured at Puerto Rico. Then, at last, Hawkins and Drake were permitted to set out at the end of August, with twenty-seven ships and 2500 men, the two commanders holding a joint command.

Such an arrangement was bound to lead to trouble.

Hawkins was by this time over sixty, "old and wary". Drake was still impetuous and headstrong. It was as though the ox and the Arab steed had been harnessed together, and from the beginning there was friction, which grew worse and worse as time went on, for there was no one to settle disputes as they arose.

Drake wanted first of all to make an attack on the Canaries or Madeira, but Hawkins urged that they should at once cross the Atlantic. On this occasion Drake got his way, but it was only after many words had been spoken which were a cause of bitterness for the rest of the voyage. The attack proved a failure, and this damped the ardour of the men, and shook their belief in Drake's invincibility. By the end of October the fleet reached Guadeloupe, where preparations were to be made for the attack upon Puerto Rico. Five of the new Spanish treasure escorts arrived there on the same day, and managed to capture a small English ship that had lagged behind the rest. From their captives the Spaniards learned all about the English plans, and they hurried off to prepare for the enemy. Drake was very anxious to attack Puerto Rico before it had time to prepare, but on this occasion Hawkins carried the Council with him, and all Drake could do was to persuade his colleagues to make for the place by a course that the Spaniards would not expect. So the English dodged the enemy, and reached Puerto Rico, on 12 November. But they found the garrison quite prepared for them. And there, before the attack began, the brave, cautious, old Admiral Hawkins died, and fate removed the misfortune of a divided command. It was now left for Drake to develop his plans, but without that element of surprise on which he had always relied. The attack proved a disastrous and depressing failure, and Drake had to withdraw and reorganise his fleet in one of the hidden harbours along the coast. He now proposed to attack Nombre de Dios, but on the way he visited Rio de la Hacha, which he laid waste, carrying off with him a great amount of

treasure. On 27 December Nombre de Dios was seized after some slight resistance, but little booty was got here, for the commander had been warned and had removed all that was of value. Drake destroyed the town and the shipping, and then the soldiers set out for Panama across the isthmus. This plan also failed, for the Spaniards were lying in wait and drove the men back. As it was evident that nothing was to be gained by staying here, it was agreed to make for Truxillo. But once again, and now for the last time, contrary winds held Drake back, and he had to anchor under the deadly shelter of a small island. There dysentery struck down man after man, and at last Drake himself succumbed. On the night of 27 January, 1596, the great Captain died on board his ship "Defiance," and at sea, just off the coast of Puerto Rico, they buried him. Sir Thomas Baskerville took charge of the sorrowing fleet, now decimated by sickness, and under him the squadron made its sad way home.

Drake's career apparently ended in utter failure, and by the end of Elizabeth's reign no English colony had been established. It may then seem strange at first to look upon him as a Pioneer of English colonisation and empire.

But his life had not been a failure. He had taught a new art of sea strategy and sailing tactics, and his pupils were ready to carry it out after he was gone. He had broken the maritime power of Spain, and shown her powerless to keep other nations out of the New World. His discovery of New Albion stimulated Englishmen to reach it by the north-west passage, and directed their attention to the northern continent. His treaty with the Sultan of Ternate encouraged Englishmen to trade with the East, and so led to the foundation of our Indian Empire. He sowed where others were to reap, and to him is rightly due the title of Pioneer of Progress; for he opened up the road to an Empire of which, though the vastness intoxicates the foolish and the burden terrifies the fearful, the responsibilities sober yet inspire the brave.





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